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[41]Prado, op. cit., p. 255.

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[42]At this point the terminology of the sugar industry becomes even more complex. Engenho, engenho central, and usina all refer either to the industrial and the agricultural segments of the industry or to the mill alone. Indication will be made, where necessary, when the term refers to the mill only. Fornecedores (furnishers) are usually called fazendas (a type of plantation, although elsewhere the term might apply to a cattle ranch). Some fazendas were former engenhos and have sometimes retained that name. An additional complication is the fact that "engenho" occasionally is used as part of a name where there is not necessarily a functioning mill or plantation. In addition, fazendas may be owned and operated as part of a large usina.

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[43]This period was characterized by a bitter struggle, chiefly on the political level, between the fornecedores and the large mill owners. In the end superior economic resources, coupled with political influence, enabled the large mill owners to defeat but not completely dispossess the fornecedores in the Recôncavo.

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[44]By 1940, over one-half of the people of Brazil lived in the central southern region. Because of the higher standard of living, the people in this area accounted for much more than one-half of the internal market for sugar.

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[45]Conselho Nacional de Estatística, Anuário Estatístico do Brasil--1953, Ano XIV (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1953), p. 189.

[46]Amaral, op. cit., II, 369.

[47]Ibid., p. 370.

[48]The problems will be discussed in the chapters on population (Chapter IV) and on marketing, transportation, and processing of agricultural products (Chapter X).

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the plantation complex became the principal characteristic. Marriages between the families of plantation owners brought new alignments of property, some families acquiring more land and others losing it through the natural processes of the marriage and growth of parts of families and the dying out of others. Family became increasingly important. As a rule the conjugal family was large and the extended family enormous; marriages between cousins, uncles, nieces, and other relatives were common. Social life was carried on between neighboring plantations, and of course many marriages took place as a result of these contacts, so that it was not infrequent to find many plantations, both contiguous and scattered, owned by the same family. As a rule each extended family had its traditional plantation as a sort of home base, and the head of the family frequently resided there, although not always. The patriarch was generally granted great respect and prestige by the members of his family, both far and near.

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Many who received land grants were the noblemen of the province, and many of them were representatives of the government. In this way the plantation master was securely establishing himself and his family not only in the Recôncavo but also in the governmental hierarchy, and was often in a position to see that the government action did not adversely affect the interests of the sugar-cane growers. At any rate, for several centuries social and political domination was in the hands of a small group which gradually intermarried, always strengthening itself. Its members were, first and foremost, the landowning gentry; next in importance were professional people such as lawyers, doctors, clerics, educators, and politicians. Members of this group were also soldiers, and in the War of Independence in 1822 the plantation masters of Vila Recôncavo took a foremost part both personally and financially, for which many were later honored by having royal titles bestowed upon them.

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As the small rural towns, and later the counties, grew, they also fell under the domination of one or several plantation masters. Not infrequently a feud would arise between two families to determine which was to be the dominant one. As the plantation master prospered, he showed his wealth and power with a degree of ostentation which was commented upon by travelers and chroniclers of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The ruins of houses built at this time can be seen today scattered throughout the coastal northeast.

[The Private Plantation]

*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 464 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

Bt Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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157 ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

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557 There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

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578 There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.
Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.
Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.
Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.
Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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125 The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo.
[159] The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpatica (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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[778] to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cultism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her
[765] and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints,
[578] he moved into the house where he has now been leader for thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

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177 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagó and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

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177 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
[776] although the informant could not name them all and neither could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occa-
563 sional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while
576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these
571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help, who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will
563 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by
578 something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say
571 *'que negro ruim'* (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say *'que gente ruim'* (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The *'que negro bom'* (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

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the *homem de côr* to say '*Êle É um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

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Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.
Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.
Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.[1] A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

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[1] These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class—the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

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In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

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The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of mulattoes and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

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This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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siderable extent over those of the male portion, the church exercises a substantial measure of control. Prestige of the military is high.

The large family, with its wide ramifications and its patriarchal organization, also bespeaks a preindustrial era. Social cohesion in the community is maintained by the close association of members of these large family groups, together with the intimate ties common to friends of long standing, the degree of whose intimacy is much greater than that ordinarily to be found in the cities of comparable size in industrial societies. One notes in Bahia a warmth of manner uncommon to the United States. Bahians, like most Brazilians, tend to be very affectionate in the family and warmhearted toward their friends. Characteristic of such primary relationships is a high order of courtesy and politeness and an almost limitless consideration for the convenience and comfort of relatives and friends. Religious affiliation and guild association weave further strands of solidarity, binding the urban community together as if it were merely an overgrown village.

In this stable society there is a comparative absence of most forms of conflict. In commerce and finance competition is comparatively slight and limited in considerable measure to foreigners. The economy is almost entirely extractive and industry is minimal. The few differences which arise between labor and capital often take the form of a

ual educated in Rio, to be seen on the beaches. Snug-fitting street dresses or those made of sheer or transparent material, and skirts which do not fall at least several inches below the knee, are subject to general criticism. At the exit of the principal churches and cathedrals is posted an official proclamation of the archbishop of Bahia specifying permissible dress. Failure to observe these regulations automatically bars the offender from the sacraments of the church.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[1] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[1] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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that the period of time involved is much greater in the case of Carnival.

In 1936, as for some years previously, three clubs competed in presenting floats on the opening and closing evenings of Carnival. The rivalries, especially between Cruz Vermelha and the Fantoshes, are intense, the Innocentes em Progresso appearing to be rather generally admired.

Preceding, during, and following the parade, Negro *batucadas* and *cordões* pass through the milling crowds. The *batucadas* are usually composed of fifteen to twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mulattoes, who carry small drums, *cuicas*, and *xaque-xaques*,[19] and parade in single file. The music is one toned and monotonous, reminiscent of the *candomblé* ritual. A *cordão* consists of fifty or sixty people of both sexes and all ages, invariably blacks and dark mulattoes, inclosed within a roped quadrangle, some marching, rather informally, some constantly whirling and dancing, all singing African songs and beating their palms. A banner, usually of silk and velvet, bears the group's name. It may be Outum Obá de Africa, Ideal Africano, Onça,[20] or some similar designation. The group also includes from ten to fifteen musicians with brass instruments, a few blacks in African costume, and a dancer bearing an animal's head (tiger, lion, *onça*, etc.). The women and the small children are usually dressed in the *Bahiana* costume, to be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

In a spirit of levity common to the Carnival season, one will occasionally see a group of whites and light mulattoes burlesquing the *cordão*. Encompassed by a rope, they pass through the crowd, singing, dancing, and beating their palms. In one of these *blocos*, as they are called, 16 of the

[19] See chap. ix.

[20] The *onça* is the Brazilian jaguar.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* ("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

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Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian remarked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

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As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

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Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela-

[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?' " (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brasil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming interest in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films in which each has played during the last three or four years.[10]

The following account by a young mulatto student of secondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

[10] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roullen, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[13] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[13] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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persist, setting apart to some extent a (comparatively small) portion of the black population.

20. Lynching and the rape of white women by colored men are both unknown, "passing" has no point, and circumstances are not ordinarily conducive to the appearance of the "marginal man."

21. One drop of African blood does not, as in the United States (if known), class a mixed-blood as a Negro. Instead, many individuals are listed in the official statistics as whites, and are similarly known in the community, who not only have African ancestors but actually give some evidence of this descent in their color and features.

22. Prejudice exists in Brazil; but it is *class* rather than *race* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which one finds inside the ranks of the Negro in the United States.

23. It is possible that the Brazilian blacks and mixed-bloods, lacking as they do in most cases the sense of inferiority long characteristic of the Negro in the United States, particularly of the mixed-blood, have been less activated by personal ambition. Feeling themselves less under the necessity of demonstrating to a hostile white world their individual talents and abilities, they have not had the same incentive for social advancement and, consequently, have not, perhaps, as a group, risen in class as rapidly as has the Negro in the United States.

24. Although Brazil seems never to have had a formal racial policy, the traditional behavior which originally grew up and took shape under the influence of the immediate and unreflecting responses to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life gave rise to an *informal* racial policy, or racial ideology, which underlies and gives consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and

[SALVADOR]

/16 cont./

829 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or
*563 who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

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*563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1)

1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An
• [578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, how-
829 ever, a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
• 578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when ten-
[152] sion is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the be-
[579] ginning of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments. But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
771 more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

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[798] [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

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794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

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[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 666 578 829 [646] This means that Brazilians born in other States have made careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover, had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 577 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination; the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good 181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti- 182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 829 186 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 * 563 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the /47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."